1: Jenness--47 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 648, 177

"The Copper Eskimos had no intercourse with the Indians of Great Bear lake until Mr. Stefansson brought them together in 1910; since then they have regularly visited the lake each summer and traded their dogs for guns and ammunition. Up to 1910 they were afraid of the Indians, and apparently never reached quite as far as Bear lake, its north end at least. (2) They have a tradition that long ago some Indians came up from the south and massacred many of the Walliak natives, after which they went away west, carrying with them the Eskimos' pots. Possible there is some reference in this to the massacre at Bloody fall. Higilak told me that the Eskimos never fought with the Indians, though the latter would steal their copper and pots. Once when the Indians were close to a party of Eskimos the latter kindled a great fire and threw the ashes into the eyes of their enemies. Natives from Bathurst inlet at the present day often travel overland in summer to the country between the Coppermine river and McTavish bay. Much of their journey to the Coppermine can be made in kayaks, since there are numerous lakes everywhere, as Franklin found on his first journey. Caribou too are abundant, and every summer scores of them are herded into the lakes and speared from kayaks. I

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"2. Cf. Simpson, Discoveries, p. 347; Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 216."

was unable to learn whether the Eskimos often came into contact with Indians along this route; probably not, for we found little or no evidence in their culture and traditions that would indicate any established relations. Mr. Chipman met some Tree river Eskimos in the spring of 1916 who were heading for the upper reaches of the Coppermine in order to trade with Dog Rib Indians from Fort Rae; but presumably this was a new departure in their movements, and dated back no more than three or four years. The amicable relations established between the two races in 1916 were still further improved in the following year, when a band of 17 Indians from Fort Rae and Great Bear lake descended to the mouth of the Coppermine river to visit a white trader named Klengenberg. (3) Thus European influence, after extending slowly north for several centuries, is at last making itself felt in this region, and for the first time since Hearne's day the Indians have ventured to approach the Arctic coast."

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"3. Report of the Bathurst Inlet Patrol, p. 38."

1: Jenness--48 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 648, 439

"The Copper Eskimos secured guns and ammunition and knives from the Akilinnik people in exchange for the skins of caribou, musk-oxen and foxes. Ilatsiak had bought from them a saw, an axe, powder for his rifle, two big snow-knives and a few things of lesser importance. At the same time the Copper natives obtain wood from which to make their sleds and weapons. Sometimes they stayed with the Akilinnik people for a year or two, and went down to Chesterfield inlet with them to meet and trade with white men; occasionally too, an Akilinnik native would return with them to Bathurst inlet. These inland natives, however, being ignorant of the method of seal-hunting on the ice in winter, could never remain for any long period with their northern neighbours, but were compelled to hasten south again in quest of caribou and musk-oxen."

"An Akilinnik native visited the expedition at Bernard harbour about Christmas, 1915. He told us that his people have a regular formula to describe the natives of Bathurst inlet; translated it ran: 'They are good people to meet, they are pleasant companions. They always have plenty of seal-meat. They are a friendly people. Whenever they go sealing they always secure plenty of seals.'

South of the Akilinnik the Coronation gulf natives know of a people called Aligattalingmiun, who live on a large river close to the country of the white men. In the land of these Eskimos they say there is one very large river with five smaller rivers leading to it (tributaries?), and the white men live on the one farthest away. Ilatsiak had seen some of these Aligattalingmiun, who were living on a tributary of the Akilinnik at a place called Kanralasiorvik, where many caribou crossed the river in the fall during their annual migration south-[49] wards. The strangers were living in very large tents and possessed a numbe [sic] of kayaks, which they would lash together when ferrying big loads across th [sic] rivers and lakes.

Only within quite recent times did the Coronation gulf Eskimos meet with any of the Pallik Eskimos from the southwest hinterland of Hudson bay. (1) A Kilusiktok hunter

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"1. Cf. Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 251."

named Sikoaluk, who died a few years ago, came upon a few of these natives while hunting to the south of Bathurst inlet, probably in the vicinity of Backs river. Kaksavik, a Pallik Eskimo who visited our station at Bernard harbour in December, 1915, left his native district in 1912 and migrated to the country of Saningaiyok or Backs river, (2) because of the abundance of caribou and musk-oxen in that region. In the summer of 1914 he met some Bathurst inlet natives who told him that white men were living to the westward, so as soon as the fall set in he left two of his wives and their children inland, and with his third wife, and a young couple from the Akilinnik, travelled north and west till he came to Bernard harbour. He stayed with us for three days, then crossed to the Liston and Sutton islands to visit the local Eskimos. They immediately held a dance in his honour, which he returned on the following day; on the third he left again for Backs river.

Ilatsiak, the Kilusiktok shaman whom I have mentioned, gave an account of how two Akilinnik natives named Kitiraiyak and Innitak met two Back river natives named Pattuyak and Pakunnuak. In friendly rivalry they strove to knock each other down. One

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"2. The Backs river natives are called Saningaiyomiut. Kaernermiut, an alternative name Mr. Stefansson gives them, means 'the people of the flat land.'"

succeeded in throwing his adversary, but the latter quickly rose and knocked him down in turn, tearing his clothes; his companion, too, was equally successful. After the wrestling was over they lived together for a few days and traded for various goods. On another occasion a party of Eskimos was living on a grassy flat beside a large lake named Tahiryuak not far from Backs river; another band was living on the opposite side of the lake, behind a long spit that projected into the water. One day four men from the flat lashed two of their kayaks together and crossed over to visit their neighbours; two sat in the kayak holes and paddled, while one lay across the bows and the other across the sterns. As they drew near the spit five natives went forward to meet them, and one of the paddlers, Pitiganna, cried out, 'We have come from the place where the long grass grows beside the lake. We have come in two kayaks lashed side by side, to visit you dwellers on the spit.' As soon as the kayaks grounded the man in the bow jumped ashore holding a knife in his hand, and the other three followed quickly after. The five strangers approached them, one grasping a spear. First they had a wrestling contest to find out which side was the stronger, then the visitors went up to the tents and they all ate together and traded."

1: Jenness--55 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 609, 648

"Little need be added to Mr. Stefansson's descriptions of the manner in which strangers are welcomed. (1) The shouting of taima as a sign of peaceable intentions seems to be a Hudson bay usage not employed by the Copper Eskimos among themselves, although they are doubtless fully aware of its meaning. (2) The ordinary method of signifying peace is to hold up the arms so that the strangers may see you are carrying no weapons. A party of Noahognik Eskimos, coming down to the coast in the early fall of 1914, found us established at Bernard harbour. They approached our tents to within about 200 yards, and, standing in line on the crest of the ridge, alternately raised their open hands above their heads, and, stooping, lowered them again towards the ground, thus signifying that they had lain their weapons on the ground and held nothing in their hands. We laid our rifles on the ground (we had been hunting seals), returning their gestures, and twice again they repeated their signs as we approached.

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"1. My Life with the Eskimo, p. 172, 190 et seq.; Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 235, 301. Cf. Parry, Vol. II, pp. 165-6."

"2. [AW: this footnote misnumbered in original text] See Hearne, p. 379; Douglas, p. 204."

In November of the same year I engaged a Noahognik native named Aksiatak to guide me to the Puivlik settlement across the strait. Skirting along the coast of Victoria island we fell in with four Eskimos, all coming from different directions. Aksiatak ran ahead at top speed, flinging up his arms to indicate peace; the four Eskimos likewise started to run, converging towards their settlement. Soon my companion was hidden from view behind a ridge, and when I came up with him about a mile farther on he and the strangers were together. The four natives gave the peace signal as I approached and arranged themselves in line, the tallest man on the right. He told me his name, I told him mine, and the process was repeated all along the line. Then we started out again towards their settlement. As we drew near, Aksiatak ran ahead with a local native on each side of him, shouting 'White man, white man,' while the other two ranged themselves on either side of me and told me to run also. Men and women and children immediately began to pour out of the huts and rush to meet us. All the men and some of the women introduced themselves one after another, pressing round me in an excited throng; then an elderly native led me into his hut.

The presence of women in the party is a sure sign that no hostility need be apprehended. The custom of carrying a knife when going to meet strangers has often been

noticed. (3) It is done even when the visitor knows there is nothing to fear. As a Coronation gulf native expressed it, 'We carry knives in our hands when we go out to welcome strangers, just as the Netsilingmiut greet them with a buffet in the face. They have one custom, we have another.' The visitor is always expected to confirm the good relations by presenting his hosts with some of the food he has brought, and they in turn send him dainty portions of whatever they happen to have on hand. A dance is given to welcome him during which he is especially marked out for honour by some leading man in the community. The compliment is returned on the following day when the visitor and his people give a dance in return. Trading may occur at any time after the visitors have settled down in the camp and eaten some food."

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"3. [AW: this footnote misnumbered in original text] See Back, p. 381; and Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I., p. 264."

11: Stefansson--217-219 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 648, 177

"...while I went to the Eskimo to ask their permission to bring the Indians into camp.

At first the Eskimo refused flatly. They said that they themselves had never had anything to do with the Indians; that their ancestors had had but rare contact with them, and that this contact had never been friendly; that sometimes Indians had killed some of them and sometimes they had killed some Indians, and that now no doubt these Indians had treacherous intentions in wanting to be introduced into camp. Through our long residence with them, however, Natkusiak and I had their confidence so fully that we finally [218] talked them into allowing the Indians to come, on the condition that they leave their weapons behind them.

When I returned to Jimmie with this ultimatum, the Indians in their turn said that the intentions of the Eskimo were clear: that they intended to get them unarmed into their clutches and murder them, and Jimmie would have nothing more of the adventure. His backing out at this stage, however, did not suit me, for the Eskimo were sure to take that as a sign of treachery, and it would not have been a day until every Eskimo party in the neighborhood was on its way to the coast in a retreat in which they would have abandoned their sleds, their skins intended for clothing, and through which we would lose prestige by having brought this calamity upon them. Natkusiak and I therefore took the Indians practically by force into camp, threatening them with all sorts of dire results if they backed out. The Eskimo's reception of the Indians was friendly.

The Indians were dressed in white men's clothing, and were not at all what the Eskimo had expected Indians to be like; and in fact several of them said to me at once that had they known the Indians were like this they would not have been so frightened of them.

This was early September, and the nights were dark at midnight. We had brought the Indians to camp about sundown, and an hour later, when supper had been eaten, the Eskimo invited the Indians to come and sleep in their tents; but this the Indians would not do, saying that it was their custom to sit beside the fire. This seemed to the Eskimo a strange thing, but to me it was a self-evident fib. The Indians were simply too frightened to trust themselves in the dwellings of the Eskimo. Natkusiak and I therefore sat up with the Indians for an hour or two until all the Eskimo were sound asleep, and then finally, by lying down one on either side, we got the Indians to go to sleep between us. The next morning after breakfast the Indians invited the Eskimo to accompany them down to their lodges, where they had considerable quantities of smoked caribou meat, caribou fat, and marrow-bones. Seven of the Eskimo went, including two women, and much of the forenoon was spent in the commodious lodges of the Slaveys in feasting and in exchanging opinions, in all of which I had to act as interpreter.

Finally when the feast was over and the Eskimo were appar- [219] ently in the best of spirits, Jimmie brought forward a package of pictures of saints and holy men, and made a little speech in which he asked me to tell the Eskimo that he was an ambassador

of a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the bishop said that if they were good men and never killed any more Indians and abjured their heathenish practices, he would come and build a mission among them and would convert them to the true faith. This speech, which meant so much to the Indian, would of course have meant nothing to the Eskimo, for they had never heard of the good bishop or of the faith he preaches. Jimmie went on to say that he had a picture for each of them, and that if they would take them and wear them over their hearts, the pictures would protect them from all evil and be of the greatest value to them. Without translating any of these things, I took the pictures, which were ordinary religious chromos, and gave them to the Eskimo."

27:Chown & Lewis D-5 (1958)1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[p.13, A]

# The Blood Group Genes of the Copper Eskimo[1]

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121 143 [131] This report deals with the blood group and secretor genes of the so-called Copper Eskimo living on Victoria Island and the neighboring mainland, roughly between 100° and 120° west latitude and from the Arctic Circle to 72° north longitude. The report is part of a continuing study under the aegis of the National Museum of Canada of the populations which go to make up the population of Canada.

105 101 [161] The Copper Eskimo form an almost pure-bred population of about 1000 which has been stationary as to numbers since they were first studied by Jenness ('23) in 1913–16. Where they came from and how long they have lived here is unknown. The caribou and seal were their mainstays, providing food, clothing, fuel and housing materials, while in their territory was native copper which they used both for manufacture and for trade. Neither the east nor the west offered greater attractions, while the south was barred by Athapaskan-speaking Indians. It seems probable that they have occupied their present territory for a long time. On the other hand it is not to be imagined that they lived in complete isolation. Their neighbors 300 miles to the west about the delta of the Mackenzie knew of them, but only dimly; they spoke of them as "the people afar off." To the east and southeast they 175 had some slight contact with other Eskimo, and undoubtedly there was some intermar- 648 riage. With the Indians to the south they were apparently in a constant state of war, of small raids of extermination. So the earliest record we have of them is in Samuel Hearne's journal of his journey from Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771; in that venture the Indians who accompanied Hearne killed every Eskimo there encamped. Even so, from tales we were told, it is reasonable to believe that in other raids an occasional Indian woman

[1] [Footnotes appear on p. 13B.—Analyst]

27:Chown & Lewis 0-5 (1958)1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[P.13, B]

# The Blood Group Genes of the Copper Eskimo[1]

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or child may have been spared and incorporated into the population.

As to the other admixtures there was only a rare contact between Eskimo and people other than Indian from 1771 until about 40 years ago. These were not whaling waters. A few explorers and trades entered the area, some of whom married Eskimo women. These events are so recent that children of these marriages are still living, a number of whom we tested. Today there are two small white settlements, that at Cambridge Bay and that at Coppermine, and several still smaller implants.

In the present study 330 out of the total of approximately 1000 were tested. With the help of Corporal and Mrs. D. McDougal of the R.C.M.P., Father LaPointe, O. M. and the Reverend Canon Sperry a detailed genealogy was drawn up. There were no first-cousin marriages.[3] The genealogy could not be carried far enough back to prove or disprove second-cousin marriages. Of the 330, only 10 could be proved to have white ancestors; these 10 were eliminated in gene frequency analysis. Such analysis was carried out for the remaining total 320 and for 46 among them who were apparently unrelated. While there is no significant difference between the two estimates, we think analysis based on the 320 is probably more accurate since phenotypes of low frequency were then represented. The estimates in the tables are so based. There is a high death rate in young adults, so it was unusual to obtain blood from children and both parents. Few genotypes could therefore be defined but in what family data we did obtain, there was no disagreement between expected phenotypes and those found.

[1] Assisted by a grant from the National Museum of Canada. Dr. Jacques Rousseau, Director.
[2] Postal address, 735 Notre Dame Ave., Winnipeg 3, Man., Canada.
[3] See addendum.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8



anvils with our hunting-knives. Anderson then became strangely reminiscent, and related droll stories of his college days, of the Spanish-American War, and of his experiences on a former expedition to the Arctic. Suddenly he stopped, and Johansen and I returned to the marrow-bones. Nothing remained but fragments. I could account for four bones only, Johansen for only two; Anderson himself had slyly demolished the other eighteen. In fairness, however, I should add that he has always denied the accuracy of these figures.

The long, winding Coppermine enters the sea by two mouths, which are separated from one another by a low, grass-covered island capped with two diabase hills at its northern end. The river is here about three miles wide, but immediately narrows down to a few hundred yards. We encountered nothing but smooth ice for the first ten miles, so smooth that the snow had blown off it in many places. The dogs soon lost their tempers here, for they slid over the ice in all directions when the toboggans stuck fast on the tiniest snow-patch. Steep mud-banks hemmed us in on either side, sloping back to a level plateau in a series of cone-shaped pyramids. We came upon willows growing as high as seven or eight feet, the nearest approach to trees that any of us had seen for many months; and we passed two deserted snow-houses erected by some Eskimos returning from the Dismal Lakes early in the winter. Just as darkness began to close in we pitched our tent

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8



three miles from Bloody Fall, where Hearne, the first white man to behold the northern ocean, witnessed the massacre of a whole community of Eskimos by his bloodthirsty bodyguard of Chipewyan Indians.

We, too, had an adventure in this tragic spot, an adventure that savoured of comedy, although it appeared serious enough at the moment. While we were dressing in the morning a tumult arose among the dogs, and Johansen pushed open the flap of the tent to investigate. "Come quickly," he cried; "a big wolf is chewing up the dogs"; and he dashed out to rescue his favourite team leader. We followed, clad only in short breeks and sealskin slippers. The wolf sneaked in front of my sled not ten yards from me, and our rifles lay beyond it. I hurled a large boulder at its head, but it leaped aside, and tried to bury its fangs in my naked leg. I held it off like a dog, gripping the nape of its neck; and it twisted its head around and caught my forearm. Then I tried to throttle it with my left hand, cave-man fashion; but the animal would have mauled me badly, I fear, had it not voluntarily released its grip and slunk away, only to fall from Anderson's bullet. As it was I escaped with a small flesh-wound that, thanks to the germ-free atmosphere of the North, healed almost entirely within a week.

Owing to this accident Anderson decided not to break camp that day, but to utilize the time in caching

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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knowing that without aid they themselves could never reach the timber. One priest went in front to break the trail, the other marched behind the sled, threatening the natives with his rifle whenever they halted or turned back. The terrified Eskimos plotted to kill them and watched for an opportunity. When the priest behind them slackened his guard for a moment they leaped upon him with their knives, stabbed him to death, and shot his companion with the rifle. Then they cut open the bodies of their victims and ate the livers, a gruesome custom general among nearly all Eskimo tribes to render the spirits of the dead innocuous.

The hunters now returned and reported their crime to the people at the mouth of the river, who ascended to the scene of the murders and plundered the sled. Knife was not present on this occasion, but the following summer, while we were establishing our base at Bernard Harbour, he and his kinsmen pillaged the missionaries' cabin at the Dismal Lakes. Several Eskimos in this village that Johansen and I were visiting held property belonging to the priests, and the ringleader of the two murderers actually entertained us in his house. Strangely enough, we were greatly impressed by his bearing, and considered him one of the most enterprising and reliable natives that we had yet encountered.

Police arrested the two murderers about eighteen

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8



797 609 • 648 months after my visit and carried them south for trial. Both men were sentenced to death, but the penalty was later commuted to two years' imprisonment. They were ultimately restored to their homes, where one of them, profiting by his experience of civilization, rendered useful service to the new police posts that were established in Coronation Gulf.

609 The news that white men were wintering in their country not eighty miles away caused a great commo-
609 tion among the villagers. They anticipated a renewal
437 of their profitable trade with Captain Bernard four years before, and hastily prepared to migrate en
492 masse to Bernard Harbour. Before dawn a long file
489 of sleds, laden five and six feet high with the family possessions, streamed slowly over the snow in the direction of Locker Point. Wives and daughters pulled in front of the dogs, urging them on with frequent cries; fathers and sons hauled behind them, giving added encouragement with their walking-sticks. Here an old woman staggered feebly along, clutching the sled for support; there a dog running loose dragged an old man
[854] at the end of its trace. A nine-months-old baby slept peacefully on top of a load, enveloped in a caribou skin to protect it from the wind. Far in the rear came Knife's big sled, loaded to its full capacity, and trailing a smaller sled laden almost as heavily. Wealth has its disadvantages in the Arctic also; Knife could hardly

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

# CHAPTER XI

## THE SECOND WINTER

AN unusually large crowd greeted me as I drove my team to the station door, yet of the scientific staff of six the only representative was Johansen. Anderson, Chipman, O'Neill, and Cox were expected daily; they had gone east during the summer, and lingered too late to return except by sled. Two men were strangers, Corporal Bruce, of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, who had been commissioned to investigate the mysterious disappearance of the Roman Catholic priests from the Dismal Lakes two years before, and Girling, a young Anglican missionary, whose schooner had been blown ashore a hundred miles west of Bernard Harbour. Among half